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# THE DISMEMBERMENT OF HUNGARY

By B. C. WALLIS

From the standpoint of nationality the old kingdom of Hungary was a Magyar nucleus within a group of "subject nations." The relations between the dominant and the subject nationalities formed the theme of a statistical analysis by the writer. The results which were published in the *Geographical Review*<sup>1</sup> may now be re-examined in respect to the changes arising from the dismemberment of Hungary.

The old state has been split into the new Hungary—roughly comprising the Magyar nucleus—and Fiume as sovereign states and into components of four encircling states, comprising in the main the subject nationalities. The German west has gone to Austria, the Slovakian and Ruthenian north to Czecho-Slovakia, the Rumanian east to Rumania, and the Slav south to Yugo-Slavia. Utilizing the census of 1910, and the boundaries of the new states with as much precision as is possible, Table I indicates the proportions of area and population between the distributed parts.

TABLE I—SHARES, IN AREA AND POPULATION, OF THE DISTRIBUTED PARTS OF THE FORMER KINGDOM OF HUNGARY

STATES	AREA		POPULATION		DENSITY PER SQUARE MILE
	THOUSANDS OF SQUARE MILES	PERCENT- AGE	THOUSANDS	PERCENT- AGE	
Hungary . . . . .	36	28	7,540	36	209
(Budapest) . . . .	—	—	(880)	(4)	—
Austria . . . . .	1.6	1	330	2	206
Czecho-Slovakia . .	24	19	3,560	17	148
Yugo-Slavia . . . .	25	20	4,200	20	168
Rumania . . . . .	40	32	5,210	25	130
Fiume . . . . .	—	—	50	—	—
Total . . . . .	126.6		20,890		

The Rumanian section is the largest and the least densely peopled; the Austrian section, excepting Fiume, is the smallest and nearly the most densely peopled. The new Hungary is less than a third in area with more than a third of the population of the old kingdom. The two Slav sections,

<sup>1</sup> B. C. Wallis: The Rumanians in Hungary, *Geogr. Rev.*, Vol. 6, 1918, pp. 156-171; The Slavs of Northern Hungary, pp. 268-281; The Slavs of Southern Hungary, pp. 341-353; Central Hungary: Magyars and Germans, pp. 421-435. See also "The Peoples of Hungary: Their Work on the Land," *Geogr. Rev.*, Vol. 4, 1917, pp. 465-481.

in the north and the south, are almost equal in area; but the southern contains more people. The new boundaries are of considerable interest. They substitute arbitrary lines for natural features, except along the Danube below Pressburg and along the lower Drave. They cut across the natural districts; the little and great Alföld, the Banat, and the Bačka are not entirely within one new state; Rumania has received more than the Transylvanian plateau; Yugo-Slavia more than the mesopotamia of Croatia-Slavonia. Furthermore, they ignore the administrative lines which have been developed in the old Hungary; they rarely coincide with the old boundaries of counties or districts (*jarasi*); and they divide, sometimes, the territorial area in possession of the great Alföld towns.

It is extremely interesting to follow the sinuosities of the new limits in relation to the character of the inhabitants of the adjacent villages and small towns and to note how, at times, places with a German majority are given to Austria while neighboring Magyar villages remain to Hungary. In general, the lines, as will be seen later, lie within the boundary zones where the population is not entirely of one race. The principle of nationality, however, is not the sole factor determining the run of the lines, as is seen from the results shown in Table II.

TABLE II—POPULATION BY NATIONALITIES OF THE DISTRIBUTED PARTS OF THE FORMER KINGDOM OF HUNGARY

(In thousands)

STATE	TOTAL	MAGYAR	GERMAN	JEWISH	SLOVAKIAN	RUMANIAN	RUTHENIAN	YUGO-SLAV	OTHER
Hungary (Buda-pest)	7,540 (880)	6,250 (583)	480 (48)	460 (204)	180 (20)	50 (3)	—	50 (7)	70 (15)
Austria	330	25	235	20	—	—	—	50	—
Czecho-Slovakia	3,560	955	120	270	1,720	10	430	5	50
Yugo-Slavia	4,200	560	460	40	60	70	10	2,850	150
Rumania	5,210	1,550	520	138	10	2,820	20	50	102
Fiume	50	5	2	2	—	—	—	15	26
Total	20,890	9,345	1,817	930	1,970	2,950	460	3,020	398

Until the boundaries shall have been finally laid down, and the new censuses taken, the figures of the 1910 census are the only safe guide. Consequently the estimates in Table II are only approximate; at the same time, as in the writer's previous papers, the census returns have been recast in order that the Jews might be estimated as a race. On this basis the new Hungary contains but two-thirds of the Magyars. It is probable, however, that the numbers of Magyars in the other states will show some relative decrease, since the Magyar officials and their families will not find further

employment among the late "subject races;" but the Szeklers of Transylvania and the Magyars north of the Danube in Czecho-Slovakia will, many of them, remain outside Hungary. The Magyars form four-fifths of the population of the new Hungary, the largest minorities being Germans and Jews. There is no reason to suppose that the Germans who live in the ethnic islands near Lake Balaton and near Budapest or that the Jews who are mainly urban people will forsake the new state. The new Hungary remains the most densely peopled area in the old Hungary; and the large population of Budapest and the comparatively populous towns Szeged, Debreczen, Miskolcz, Kecskemét, Hódmező-Vásárhely give a proportional excess of town dwellers.

In the Czecho-Slovakian section half the people are Slovaks, and one-eighth are Ruthenes. The minorities are large, especially in the case of the Magyars. The Jews are scattered over the east where they will probably remain. This section is likely to lose population on the whole, since the Magyars will tend to decline in numbers and there is no very great reason to suppose that the Slovak and Ruthene will cease to migrate or emigrate. It may be argued that the Slovak, once free from Magyar despotism, will become more stay-at-home; but the new state is pledged to an uplifting educational and social policy, which will tend to unsettle the next generation of these Slavs. The dour existence among the Carpathians will not attract in face of the easier life of the plains; the Slovak may migrate to Moravia or Bohemia instead of to the Alföld; but he will, almost certainly, move away from the hills. The Yugo-Slavs number less than three-quarters of the people in the Yugo-Slavian section. The Magyar minority will decline, the Germans of the Bačka and Banat will remain, and the other minorities are comparatively trifling. The new boundaries have untied politically some 95 per cent of the Yugo-Slavs of the old Hungary; so that, unless Yugo-Slavs migrate from Serbia and Bosnia to the more fertile lands beyond the Save, the population of this section will remain little altered.

Nearly all the Rumanians of the old Hungary are now Rumanian citizens; but at the same time the new conditions give to the enlarged Rumanian state considerable Magyar and German minorities, relatively great numbers of "foreigners." These people will almost certainly remain in their villages and townships.

In Fiume the Italians form the most numerous section of the population, which will probably remain with little proportional change.

A detailed examination of the new boundaries in relation to a nationalities map of Hungary reveals some interesting facts. The results as regards the Magyars are of the greatest importance. On the west, between the Drave and the Danube, the boundary gives Hungary some Germans and Croats but does not give to Austria any Magyars. By contrast, on the east, between the Tisa and the Maros, the boundary almost entirely cuts across territory where the people are above 95 per cent Magyar; e.g. Szatmár-Németi, Nagy-Károly, Nagy-Várad are definitely Magyar towns. The new Rumanian

territory includes not only the highlands of the Bihar massif but an area sufficiently far into the Alföld to include the towns and villages which control the valleys leading down to the north and the west of the massif—a strip whose inhabitants are Magyar. South of Szeged the Magyars have lost a Magyar area including Zenta, Topolya, and Péterréve which is included in Yugo-Slavia; but elsewhere on the south Hungary includes the Magyar population. In the north there is a great contrast. Almost from Pressburg (Bratislava) eastwards to the Ipoly the area for 20 miles north of the Danube is Magyar; the linguistic boundary lies north of parallel 48° N. The remainder of the northern boundary from the Ipoly across the Sajó, Hernád, and Ung valleys to the northeast corner lies well within Magyar territory.

The common boundary between Rumania and Czecho-Slovakia is, on the whole, just to both nationalities; on the balance, too, the boundary of Rumania with Yugo-Slavia gives to each nationality its own villages, with perhaps a larger share of the German areas to Rumania. The latter state has been well served by the boundary makers. Practically the whole of the definitely Yugo-Slav territory is included within the new state, which has a distinct gain in the possession of Szabadka (Subotica).

It may be a matter of poetic justice that the Magyars, who treated the idea of national rights (other than their own) with contumely, should have suffered most now that boundaries are made on nationalistic lines.

From the point of view of religious adherence, the new Hungary differs from the old kingdom. With the exception of the Protestants, mainly Calvinists, east of the Tisa, the bulk of the people are Roman Catholics. The Austria and Czecho-Slovakia sections are Roman Catholic. Rumania contains nearly all the Greek Orthodox of the old state; the rest are in Yugo-Slavia. There are Lutherans in Rumania; but half the area is Roman Catholic, as is more than half of Yugo-Slavia.

From the standpoint of communications two facts are important. Yugo-Slavia controls the lower Danube navigation; it definitely holds both banks of the Danube and also the junctions of the Drave, Save, and Tisa with the main stream. On the other hand, Hungary retains the greater portion of the railways; no part of the boundary is much more than 150 miles by rail from the capital; most of the main lines and nearly all the cross connections are within the new Hungary.